COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The Cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws enacted as the circumstances of the time, "and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness; things which we Spaniards know how to "do, which we have done before, without any necessity that the vile French should come to instruct us."
——ADDRESS OF THE SPANISH PATRIOTS.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.——What must Mr. Roscoe say upon reading the divers papers, published by the patriots of Spain? Does he wish those patriots success? I am afraid not. He wishes, no doubt, that he could wish them success; but, he cannot, without, at the same time, confessing his error as to the disposition of the governor of France. Why not confess this error; why not give us, from his elegant pen, a song to match "O'er the vine-cover'd hills and "gay regions of France," and not leave the task of hailing the dawn of freedom in Spain to the vulgar, sot-headed, hacknied muse of "Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq." who now pretends, that he has long foreseen that Napoleon would be overthrown in Spain, and that, at last, he would go to hell.——The language of the Spanish Patriots rises with the approach of danger. It is noble and animating in the highest degree. It expresses sentiments which can be entertained in no minds but such as are free. The people of Spain, so long oppressed, so long trampled under foot, are, all at once, become high-minded. It requires ages to bend the mind to slavery, but a moment (circumstances being favourable) restores it to its native freedom and vigour.——If there be any one of the several addresses that I prefer to the rest, it is that which is entitled "PRECAUTIONS, &c." and which will be inserted, in its proper place in the Register. From this paper I have selected my motto. The patriots do not, we see, mean to confine their views to the mere driving the French out of Spain. The *Cortes*, that is to say, the *real* representatives of the people, will be assembled; *abuses will be reformed*; and such laws will be passed, as the *circumstances of the time and experience* may dictate for the public good. This is what is wanted; this, indeed, is an enterprize in which it is worth while to "spend "the last shilling and to shed the last drop "of blood." But, if nothing were intended more than a mere defeat of the French armies, and a re-establishment of the old system, there is no man of any reflection, who would care a straw which way the thing terminated.——It is clear, however, that a salutary revolution is intended; for, in this same excellent paper, the patriots of Spain talk of "the *late infamous government*," and, in another place, of the "infamous "news-papers which *the baseness of the* "*late government* caused to be circulated." Why, to obtain the liberty of uttering and publishing these words, though but for a few days, is well worth hazarding one's life for, when accompanied with only a very slight hope of being able to continue in the enjoyment of such liberty.——If the Patriots of Spain succeed, therefore, there is little fear of their again becoming slaves, for some time at any rate; and it is upon this ground, and only upon this ground, that I, for my part, wish them success.——The SPEECH just made to the parliament, in the king's name, is not, as relating to Spain, exactly what I could have wished it. I wish the word *loyal* and the word *monarchy* had not been in it. If the Patriots of Spain choose to receive any of their late royal family back again, we have nothing to do with it; but, it appears to me, that we should say nothing that could possibly be construed into a reservation of a right, on our part, to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain. The late king and the late princes of Spain have abdicated their rights of sovereignty. In the first place, the king accused his son of conspiring against his life; next, the king admits, without any attempt at resistance, a large French army into the heart of Spain, and deceives his people by telling them, that he is upon the best possible terms with Napoleon, whose army is passing across Spain upon an expedition against the common enemy, whereupon he avails himself of his kingly authority to prevent the people themselves from making any resistance, and even to compel them to furnish the French with clothing, provisions, and every thing they demand. Having thus introduced the French, he throws himself into the arms of Napoleon, and becomes

his pensioner, after having, by a treaty, formally resigned to him all his rights of sovereignty. The son, who had, in the meanwhile, obtained a previous act of abdication from his father, and who had assumed the royal authority, follows the example of his father in deceiving the people as to the views of France; he, too, calls Napoleon his friend and most intimate ally; upon the very first demand of Murat, he gives up the sword of Francis I; upon the first summons, off he goes and puts himself into the hands of Napoleon, assuring the people upon his journey, that the views of France are friendly; and, upon his arrival, he also abdicates his right of sovereignty, which example is followed by all the junior members of the family.——From these facts, well known to all the world, it is undeniable, either that the Spanish monarchy was become so rotten as to be unable to protect itself, or, that the king and the prince did of design betray their country into the hands of France. No matter to us which of the two was the case; for, take which we will, the objection to our doing or saying any thing that can be construed into a condition in behalf of the royal family is equally strong. Our king has received no communication from the late king of Spain, or from the prince, who assumed, for a short time, the kingly authority. He orders the commissioners to tell the parliament, that "communications have "been made to him by several of the *pro-* "*vinces* of Spain," and not from the king of Spain. That king has, by treaty, abdicated the throne; he has bargained away his kingly office and authority; the monarchy is, in reality as well as in form, extinguished in the House of Bourbon. Would it not, then, have been best to say nothing at all about that monarchy, and not to utter words, which *may* be construed to mean, that we will assist the Patriots of Spain so long only as they are fighting for the restoration of that monarchy; a monarchy, by which, if it was not totally rotten, the people of Spain have been cruelly betrayed?——Besides, which of the two kings (upon the supposition and recognition of an existing king) are we to support? The patriots appear to prefer Ferdinand; but, upon what principle are we to support him against the claim of his father? We get ourselves into inextricable difficulties by any declaration about monarchy; and, the probability is, that, if we continue in this track, Napoleon, if he finds his views in favour of his brother thwarted, will very soon beat us by creating distrust of us in the minds of the patriots, by representing us as fighting for the restoration of that government, which they themselves call "infa- "mous."——If Spain is to be wrested from the grasp of the Buonapartés, the thing must be done by the *people*, headed by men, who have not partaken in the vices and corruptions of the old government; and, is it not incredible, that such men should voluntarily recall that government? They talk of their "king"; it is a name that may be yet necessary to their purposes; but, as they proceed, they will find the means of dispensing with its effect; and, though it is probable, that the wisest men amongst them may think the kingly office necessary to the good government of so extensive an empire, yet it is not at all probable, that they will be able, supposing them to be willing, to induce the people, when once they have tasted the sweets of freedom, again to bend their necks to a yoke, which has hitherto bent them to the earth.——These are my reasons for wishing, that nothing had been said, in the Speech, about loyalty or monarchy, which, in my opinion, may do harm, and cannot possibly do any good. It is reasonable to suppose, that, in the course of the great and glorious struggle which the Patriots of Spain appear now to have begun, some man, and that man of no very lofty origin, may so distinguish himself as to be thought the most fit to be placed at the head of the government of Spain. In such a contingency are we prepared to say, that we will drop the cause of the Patriots? If not, what are we to do with our declarations about *loyalty* and *monarchy?* How, or when, are we to get rid of these words? Would it not have been better, then, to express our intentions to preserve, as far as we were able, the integrity of the *Spanish dominions;* or, rather, would it not have been better to dispense with all French phraseology, and to say, that we would, to the utmost of our power, preserve the Spanish dominions whole and entire?——With this exception, the Speech is very satisfactory. It says as much as could have been reasonably expected at this time; but, while I wish not to detract from the merit of the ministers, in this respect, truth demands, that I should remark, that they have appeared rather reluctant in making a communication of their sentiments and intentions: they have been the iron and not the flint: they have not inspired the public, but the public them. An express *message*, upon the subject, would have been far preferable; it would have more strongly marked a disposition to be hearty in the cause of the

Spanish Patriots; a specific sum asked for on that particular account would have had great weight in other parts of Europe as well as in Spain.——I have witnessed, upon this occasion, with some regret, an uncommon disposition to execrate Buonaparté for his *perfidy* towards Spain. Really, there appears to have been very little perfidy on his part. His views were not at all disguised, nor, indeed, was it *possible* to disguise them from the government of Spain. From the people, with the aid of the government, it was possible to disguise them; but, from the government itself, it was totally impossible. And, then, as to the consequences, who is not pleased with them? Who is not now glad that Buonaparté did make an attempt to put the crown of Spain upon the head of his brother? This is so obviously a fortunate circumstance, in the eyes of all those, who wished to see the Spanish nation free, that one cannot help fearing, that such uncommon manifestations of anger against him, upon this occasion, indicate vexation at the prospect of seeing that freedom atchieved. The anger seems, in fact, to arise from the mortification that is felt at his having given the people of Spain an opportunity of shewing, that a nation, when its energies are roused, is capable of defending itself without a royal family and a civil list. The grand question is now to be decided, whether regular armies, however numerous and well-trained, are capable of subduing a great nation, whose population are bent upon resistance, animated by the motive of acquiring or preserving their liberties. These same French armies have subdued kingdom after kingdom, where there was a sovereign prince reigning; they have now to subdue a nation, who has neither king nor government; and, if they fail, having a large army already introduced into the heart of the country, no man will hereafter say, that large regular armies are necessary to the defence of a country, the people of which have freedom to defend.——I hope that no stupid and selfish brute will be suffered to approach the ear of our ministers with insinuations as to the effect of such an example. I hope that no such villainous insinuations will be listened to, at any rate. I hope that there will be no delay in sending off succours to the self-armed and self-commanded Patriots of Spain. I hope that there will be no coldness perceiveable, on our part.——In Piedmont there was an arming of the peasantry; the same in several parts of Germany; the same in Austria; the same in Prussia; the same in Russia; every where did we hear of Volunteers and Levies-en-masse. But, somehow or other, there has been no where any effectual resistance. The people have been found to be nothing against the armies of France. Their kings and our news-papers have represented the people as ready to perish to the last man; but, when the pinch has come, they have preferred remaining unhurt, and their countries have been subdued. Poet Fitzgerald, who has pasted up his doggerel against every dead wall, deserted house, and stinking corner, of the town, calls upon the *Germans* and *Italians* to rouse themselves and to join the Spanish Patriots; but, poet Fitzgerald does not seem to perceive, that the Spaniards have a *motive*, which the Germans and Italians have not. The latter, indeed, might and may have a motive; but, the former have none. The Spaniards are fighting for *themselves*. They are engaged in a struggle, not only against the French, but against what they call their "late *infamous* govern-"ment." They are not hazarding their lives merely to obtain a choice of masters; but, at the same time, to insure the restoration and preservation of their freedom.—— There is a talk of associations and subscriptions in England for the purpose of aiding the Patriots of Spain. Nothing could be more honourable to the country. We have had "voluntary contributions" before, and why not now, in a cause, which, if any man dislikes it, he will be hardly bold enough to express that dislike. The *government* took the lead in exciting the people to associate and subscribe before; but, I hear of none of this now; nor do I hear a word of the Lloyd's people. Let us wait, however, and see what proof they give of their feelings upon this occasion. Let us see, how many copper pennies they will draw out in the cause of a people, for ages oppressed, bent upon re-acquiring their freedom. The Spanish Patriots have drawn the sword, not only for the preservation of their country from a foreign yoke; but for the restoration of the *Cortes*, that is to say, *a representation of the people*; and also for a *reform of abuses*, including, of course, not only an examination into the conduct of peculators, but the condign *punishment* of those infamous wretches, who have so long revelled in luxury upon the fruit of the people's labour. This is the cause of the Spanish Patriots, and we shall now see who will, in England, take the lead in subscribing to support this glorious cause; and, we shall have an opportunity of comparing the sums and names which will appear upon the list, with the sums and names which have appeared upon other subscription lists. In this cause one

might have hoped to see, not only pecuniary, but personal aid, voluntarily given. To have heard a thousand or two of English gentlemen asking the king permission to join the bands of Patriots in Spain, fighting in the cause of freedom, would have sounded well; but, Bond Street and the Bacchanalian routes, the gaming table, the stews, and, which is still worse, the concerts, have, for them, more charms than the din and toil and danger of battle. They can *sing* "How sleeps the "brave?" but they are quite willing to leave the thing to the enjoyment of others. They can, like poet Fitzgerald, recite odes to liberty; but, if liberty is to be fought for, the soldiers must not be sought amongst them. No: we shall see them as cold as death, upon this occasion. They hate Buonaparté because they fear him; because they fear that he will deprive them of their pleasures; because his acts and views are in incessant war against all that is effeminate and base; but, they will not stir an inch to oppose him. Some few, however, one would hope, might be found of a different description. We shall see, whether, amongst the whole of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, there be found a hundred to volunteer their personal services in support of the cause of freedom in Spain. What are the *universities* doing? Do they not afford a dozen or two, whose impatience to partake in so glorious a warfare is not to be restrained? One would think that stone walls would, at such a time, be unable to contain the high-blooded youths, who inhabit those seminaries. We shall see.——The Morning Chronicle, of the 5th instant, has the following passage: "We have seen, with "SATISFACTION, that the official paper "of government has been instructed to "*contradict* the rumour, *that the* DUKE "of YORK *is himself to take the command* "*of the Expedition.* Ministers have in this "instance paid *becoming respect to the feel-* "*ings of the public.*"——From this, it would appear, that the ministerial paper, alluded to, had announced the intention of the ministers to commit the troops, destined for Spain, to the command of the Duke of York, which had, it seems, greatly *alarmed* the Editor of the Morning Chronicle. His meaning is, I suppose, that the Duke ought not to be spared from home, while there is even a possibility of this country being invaded by a formidable enemy; for that, though we ought to do our utmost to assist the Patriots of Spain, the duty of providing for our security is certainly not to be neglected. It was for similar reasons, we must suppose, that the Times news-paper, the other day, expressed a hope, that the people would, if they found the thing in agitation, *send up an unanimous petition against sending the Duke of York to Spain.* The same motives will, doubtless, operate in preventing any of the royal dukes, who have all, I believe, except the Duke of Clarence, commands of districts in England, from being sent to partake in the glory of restoring long-lost freedom to Spain. The Spanish Patriots, however, do not, to say the truth, appear to want much instruction in the science of appointing commanders; for the rule they have laid down is excellent. "It is," say they, "indispen- "sible, that each province should have its "general, of *known talents,* and of such "experience as our situation permits; that "his *heroism* should inspire *the utmost con-* "*fidence;* and that every general should "have under his command *officers of merit,* "particularly of artillery and engineers." ——You see, they are resolved not to entrust their safety to the hands of either a fool or a coward, and are aware that *merit* alone ought to be considered in the appointment of even inferior officers. If they do but stick to this, they will triumph, without any assistance from any part of the world. If there be a serious war, in Spain, we shall now see how far *the people* of a country are capable of selecting their commanders. ——In every way, in which it can be considered, the struggle, now going on in Spain, is interesting to the world, and particularly to England. Should the Spaniards succeed in driving out the French, the reverses of Napoleon will not stop there. They will assuredly pursue him into Portugal, where also "*a reform of abuses*" will take place. Similar effects may be produced in Italy. The noble spirit may extend itself to Holland, to Germany, and the North; and, it is possible, that the new despotism may be ejected from France itself. All this, if it should be atchieved, will have been atchieved by *a people,* having no guide but that of their own good sense and a desire to be free. Napoleon has, of late, become the patron of crowned-heads. He never opens his lips but "by the Grace of God;" he always winds up with talking of the authority given him by "Providence;" and, in his letter to the late Prince of Asturias, he plainly says, that the people are always to be considered as hating kings, and are to be, of course, looked upon as enemies, and treated as such. The war, in Spain, therefore, is a war of the people against despotism. There is a revolution going on in favour of liberty; and, I must repeat, that it is curious

enough, that we should now be fighting on the side of the people, and that, too, with the only fair prospect of success that we have had since the commencement of a war of fifteen years duration !—— What a wonderful thing it will be; what a subject for the able historian; if Buonaparté should fall in consequence of his despotic acts, after having himself been the terror, the scourge, and the destroyer of despotism. In order to be able to eradicate deep-rooted despotism, it seems to have been necessary for him to possess and exercise despotic powers greater than those which he had to overcome; and, now that his work is done, if he should be deprived of those powers by a spirit of liberty generally diffused over this fair and oppressed quarter of the globe, how interesting the scene will become !—— It is desirable, that the war in Spain should not be of very short duration. No nation, in such a state, was ever regenerated without an arduous struggle. There are numerous vermin to destroy in Spain, and, to insure their complete destruction, the storm must not only be violent, but must last for some time. It is in stormy times, that great and salutary changes are most easily effected. When men have arms in their hands, and are hourly exposing their lives, they think nothing at all of making those changes in civil matters, which changes they would, at other times, tremble but to think of. All great and good changes, in matters relating to government, have been made in stormy times. Necessity is the mother of invention, and, it is in such times, that a nation feels what is necessary to it.——It will require time and experience, too, for the people of Spain to discover, who are the wisest, the most vigilant, the most brave, and most public-spirited men in their country. Slavery, like darkness, keeps men from the knowledge of each other. At present the people of Spain can know but very little of their leaders. They meet like acquaintances of yesterday. Like the inhabitants of a city brought together by a fire. All must be confusion and uncertainty. It will require time for things to jostle into order. Some, who present themselves for trust and confidence will be found unworthy. Time for *trial* is wanted. A year's war and hardship and danger will winnow the people; will divide the grain from the chaff; the hollow from the solid, the rotten from the sound. It requires time, too, to wear away prejudices; to destroy the effect of *names*; to make the people, from experience, learn how they have been duped and abused by the most contemptible of their species; to give to truth that fair play, which the people have been made to labour to deprive it of. The Provisional Government recommend, it will be seen, frequent short and pithy publications, calculated to counteract the falsehoods promulgated through the newspapers of the "late *infamous* government." This is a good beginning; but, it will require time to do away the effect of the reiterated lies of those newspapers. It is possible, too, that many of those leaders, who are opposed to the French, may not wish for such a change as would restore freedom to the people; but, if the struggle continue any length of time, and become arduous, they will find, that they must either go the whole way with the people, or submit to the French.——There must be time to break up connections. To tear to pieces the accursed trammels, which it has taken ages to make. The locusts, who have so long been devouring the fruits of the people's labour, would soon find the means of alighting upon them again, unless destroyed by the long duration of the storm. With a hoard of prey they will retire to their hiding places and wait for the sun-shine; but, if the storm last for a year or two, out they must come, expose themselves to observation, and labour or starve. The hurricane and the torrent, though they do great visible mischief, do greater invisible good; and a struggle, such as that which we are, I hope, about to witness, in Spain, though it occasions great sufferings for the time, naturally and necessarily puts a stop to all those vices, which degrade, and, by degrees, enslave a nation. I will venture to say, that already bribery and corruption have received a check in Spain; sycophancy can have no meat to feed on; the whole body of flatterers and panders and procuresses (a numerous host !) must be nearly disbanded. Murat and his people having other matters to attend to; the troops of players, dancers, musicians, and buffoons must be in a miserable way; the endless hordes of aumils and petty oppressors and robbers can scarcely stand a chance of getting bread any longer without working. But, it will require time; it will require a good long and rough contest to *clear* the land of all those and other noxious animals. There will be no real good to Spain, until the peculators are justly punished and their wives and children are made to labour for their bread. Without accomplishing this, the change would not be worth wishing for, much less shedding of blood for. What could Joseph Napoleon and his set do more than rob the people with impunity? For my part, if I were a

Spaniard, I should be for punishing the *old* peculators *at any rate*; for while they remain unpunished it is a mockery to talk of any measures for the public good.——There is still another reason for wishing the struggle to be of pretty long duration: it will give time for the principles of the Patriots to spread over other countries; it will give time for discussion in those other countries; men will hear that such or such a change has taken place in Spain, that the reason of it was such or such, and that the effect will be this and that; and, as the Spaniards proceed in their work of renovation and "*reform of abuses*," there will be other nations ready to make a comparison, and to feel shame at being behind hand with them, especially if there should exist an intimate intercourse between them and Spain. There are some persons, who seem to be delighted with the resistance of the Spaniards, regarding it merely as the means of restoring every thing to its situation of twenty years ago. But, they may be assured, that, if such were the object of the Spaniards, it would fail. Things can never be brought back to that situation; and, the event will prove, I trust, that the resistance of the Spaniards will have precisely a contrary effect. Buonaparté was bringing the state of twenty years ago back again as fast as possible. He meant, and still means, to make a mere change of dynasties all over Europe, and then to have sitten down quietly amidst a world of slaves; but, the Spaniards, from whom he expected no resistance at all, threaten totally to frustrate his views, and to give to the other nations an example well worthy of their imitation. ——I have often had occasion to observe, that, if Napoleon were to make such an attack upon England as should give rise to an opinion that he would finally become its master, the first to join his standard would be those sycophants and panders, who now accuse others of a want of loyalty. This has been exactly the case in Spain. The whole of this infamous tribe, with the late *prime minister at their head*, are now in the court of Buonaparté, having first been bribed to betray their country, upon the vitals of which they have so long preyed, into his hands. Infamous miscreants! I dare say, that they have, for years, claimed a monopoly of loyalty; I dare say, that the virtuous and brave men, who now complain of "the late base and infamous go-"vernment," were, by them, considered as being enemies to their country; I dare say, that the men, whom we are now assisting, and who declare for "*a reform of abuses*," were, by them and their hireling news-papers, represented as harbouring designs to overthrow the government, to destroy all order, property, and law; I dare say they were considered as demagogues, libellers, and traitors, whom it was the bounden duty of every man in authority to stigmatize, harrass, oppress, persecute, and, if possible, take off by some means or other. Oh! that king and his family are, at this moment, an excellently useful example. In their fate may be seen what it is for kings and princes to take sycophants and panders to their bosom, while they cast a scowling eye upon, and drive from their presence, all those who come with remonstrances in behalf of the people. Here is a *prime minister* and his whole shoal of underling courtiers gone over to the enemy in a body; and, what is still better, being formed into a Junta to deliberate upon what is to be done, their very first act is a declaration, that the late government was become so bad, that nothing could mend it, and that even a change of the dynasty was become indispensible. Villains! As if it were any but themselves, who had rendered the government so bad; and as if they, when in power, would not have put to the rack and torn piecemeal, any one who should have but half insinuated what they have now openly declared and proclaimed.—— In dismissing this subject, for the present, I cannot refrain from pointing out, as worthy of unqualified approbation, the very great, the apparently unparalleled exertions, which our ministers are making for giving the Spanish patriots assistance. To be sure they must sleep neither night nor day, if they mean to keep pace with the wishes of the nation at large; for never, I believe, was there any thing so popular, any thing that inspired half so much enthusiasm amongst the people, as the cause of the Patriots of Spain; whence the ministers and their master may learn what is the real taste of Englishmen. Our government, as will be seen from lord Castlereagh's letter to the Mayor of London, acknowledges the existence and authority of a "*Provisional government*" in Spain. It is not a *regency*, or a *lieutenancy*, or a *commission*; it is *a government*, erected by the nation, for the managing of its affairs; and, therefore, while our ministers are laudably making such great exertions to assist the cause of the Patriots, I hope they will steer clear of the embarrassment that would inevitably arise from any thing meddling, on their part, about the *king* of Spain. If Buonaparté finds, that he cannot beat the Patriots and impose

his brother upon them, he will, very likely, set up the king of Spain, or the prince of Asturias, again; and, then he will be fighting for the king of Spain as well as we, if we are foolish enough to adopt this line of proceeding. No: send the Patriots arms, ammunition, provisions, money, ships, and men; but, send them no commands as to what they are to do in forming a government for themselves. If the statements, in the newspapers, be true, the preparations we are making for sending off aid to the Patriots are of a magnitude worthy of the cause and of ourselves. I repeat the expression of my thanks to the ministers for this, and I am sure they will receive the thanks of the whole country, with the exception of those only, whom, I hope, they will have the sense and the spirit to despise, of whatever rank they may be.——It is a subject of curious speculation what will be the conduct of the American States with respect to Spain. They would, upon hearing that the king and prince had abdicated the throne, in behalf of the Buonapartes, be greatly alarmed; nor will they be very well pleased, when they find, that a revolution is taking place, especially under *our* auspices. The old rotten government of Spain made the Spanish nation an excellent milch cow to them as well as to France. They will not like to hear, that Spain is likely to have a vigorous government, that government being naturally in close alliance with England, as it will be if a totally *new* government be formed. Jonathan will be puzzled to know what to do. If he has sense enough to get the better of his vanity, to give up the idea of being a "great nation," and content himself with his barter and sale, he may yet do very well. But, if he persists in his big talk, and his spiteful though impotent measures, I think things are working, as well abroad as at home, in a way that promises to produce a speedy breaking-up of his boasted confederation. If the Spanish Patriots should succeed, as there is now some reason to hope, there will be nothing for which they will have to thank Jonathan. France having stolen part of the territory of Spain, Jonathan stood a ready purchaser. This territory, if the Patriots succeed, he will have to resign, upon principles of common sense as well as of common law. If Jonathan should see France likely to sink, he will rise upon her, and you will hear his Cerberean press barking at her from the first column to the last. Next to Jonathan's hatred of England is his partiality for the strongest; therefore, if Buonaparte should chance to slip, let him, of all things, beware of Jonathan; for, under such circumstances, Jonathan is a very Hector of Troy. Florida, under a wise and spirited government, will be a formidable neighbour to Jonathan, and that neighbour, if we have the wisdom to encourage, by all the means in our power, the forming of an *entirely new government* in Spain, will and must be our friend. Let Jonathan ponder well upon these matters, for they are closely connected with his future fate.

Botley, 7th July, 1808.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPEECH

Delivered to the Parliament by the Lords Commissioners, at the Prorogation of the Parliament, on the 4th of July, 1808.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, We have it in command from his majesty to express to you the great satisfaction which he derives from being enabled, by putting an end to the present session of parliament, to terminate the laborious attendance which the public business has required of you.—The measure which you have adopted for the improvement of the military force of the country, promises to lay the foundation of a system of internal defence eminently useful, and peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of these times.—The sanction which you have given to those measures of defensive retaliation, to which the violent Attacks of the Enemy upon the commerce and resources of this kingdom, compelled his majesty to resort, has been highly satisfactory to his majesty.—His majesty doubts not that in the result the enemy will be convinced of the impolicy of persevering in a system which retorts upon himself, in so much greater proportion, those evils which he endeavours to inflict upon this country.——GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, We are commanded by his majesty to return his most hearty acknowledgements for the chearfulness and liberality with which the necessary supplies for the current year have been provided.—His majesty directs us to assure you, that he participates in the satisfaction with which you must have contemplated the flourishing situation of the revenue and credit of the country, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war; and he congratulates you upon having been enabled to provide for the exigencies of the public service, with so small an addition to the public burthens.—His majesty commands us to thank you for having enabled him to make good his engagements with his allies; and to express to you the particular gratification which he has derived from the manner

in which you have provided for the establishment of his sister, her royal highness the Dutchess of Brunswick. —— My Lords and Gentlemen, His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the formidable confederacy united against his ally the king of Sweden, that sovereign perseveres, with unabated vigour and constancy, to maintain the honour and independence of his crown; no effort has been wanting on the part of his majesty to support him in the arduous contest in which he is engaged.—The recent transactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and striking proofs of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every established government and independent nation in the world. —His majesty views with the liveliest interest the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation, in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed.—Thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, the Spanish nation can no longer be considered as the enemy of Great Britain; but is recognized by his majesty as a natural friend and ally.—We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his majesty from several of the provinces of Spain, soliciting the aid of his majesty. The answer of his majesty to these communications has been received in Spain, with every demonstration of those sentiments of confidence and affection which are congenial to the feelings and true interests of both nations: and his majesty commands us to assure you, that he will continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they are employed.—In contributing to the success of this just and glorious cause, his majesty has no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy. But he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object, may, under the blessing of divine providence, lead in their effects, and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and the peace of Europe.

Spanish Revolution.—*Order of Council in England, dated 4th July,* 1808.

His majesty having taken into his consideration the glorious exertions of the Spanish nation for the deliverance of their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances which his majesty has received from several of the provinces of Spain, of their friendly disposition towards this kingdom; his majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, —First, that all hostilities against Spain, on the part of his majesty, shall immediately cease.—Secondly, That the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as may be still in the possession or under controul of France, shall be forthwith raised.—Thirdly, That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain shall have free admission into the ports of his majesty's dominions, as before the present hostilities. — Fourthly, That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain, which shall be met at sea by his majesty's ships and cruisers, shall be treated in the same manner as the ships of states in amity with his majesty, and shall be suffered to carry on any trade now considered by his majesty to be lawfully carried on by neutral ships.— Fifthly, That all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in the Spanish colonies, which shall be detained by any of his majesty's cruisers after the date hereof, shall be brought into port, and shall be carefully preserved in safe custody, to await his majesty's further pleasure, until it shall be known whether the said colonies, or any of them, in which the owners of such ships and goods reside, shall have made common cause with Spain against the power of France. —And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the judge of the high court of admiralty, and the judges of the courts of vice admiralty, are to take such measures herein as to them may respectively appertain.

Lord Castlereagh's Letter to the Mayor of London, dated 1st July, 1808.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that dispatches have been received from major-general Spencer, dated off Cadiz the 6th inst. by which it appears that a negociation had been entered into between his majesty's naval and military commanders off that port, with deputies appointed on the part of the Provisional government of the province of Andalusia, assembled at Seville, the result of which had been forwarded for the approbation of the said government.—Every arrangement had been taken for the reduction of the French ships, and admiral Purvis had been invited by the Spanish commanders to anchor his fleet at the mouth of the harbour, with a view to co-operate in compelling the common enemy to surrender.—It appears that the southern provinces of Spain had decla-

ed against France, and dispatches of the 4th instant received from lieut. general Sir H. Dalrymple, at Gibraltar, mention that the Spanish army before that fortress, reinforced by the greater part of the garrison of Ceuta, had marched against the French.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—*Proclamation by the Superior Junta of the Government. Dated 7th June,* 1808.

(Continued from page 32.)

When the morning of our prosperity dawns, is it possible to conceive that men incapable of the high destiny prepared for them, who lay claim to the honourable title of true Spaniards, and upright friends of their country, should seek to deceive you, and give us up to all the horrors of civil war, at the very moment when the hero, who is the author of our present blessings, and must be the wonder of posterity, was fully employed in the developement of those plans which he had formed for the prosperity of Spain. Certainly the Junta of the government wish to remove this error on the part of the Spaniards, so praiseworthy for their patriotism; and in the meantime they at present see with pain, that some persons, led away by an inconsiderate zeal and by the anxieties of a mistaken loyalty; that others misled with respect to the true situation of their country, and above all by the secret agents of a hostile nation, actuated by envy of the prosperity of the continent, have been able to lead into a spirit of error a part of the good inhabitants of some of the provinces, and to sow the seeds of disunion and insurrection. Brave Spaniards! should you permit yourselves to be deceived by their deceitful pretences? Understand you not that those whoin such critical circumstances become the apostles of insurrection, and counsel you to disobey your superiors, are the true enemies of your country? What do those exciters of uproar and dissension aim at? Is it the restoration of your old monarchs? These are out of Spain:—what can they expect from your impotent efforts?—Is it to defend the laws on which you make your future prosperity to depend? Who then thinks of annulling them?—On the contrary, is it not in contemplation to restore to the nation its ancient freedom and original constitution, a blessing which it has only been permitted us within these few days to think of? Mistaken inhabitants of the provinces, what would you be at? Will you bring down upon your heads all the horrors of war, see your fields laid waste, your cities burnt, your habitations destroyed? Think you that a tumultuous levy of brave inhabitants, without military skill, without chiefs, without money, without magazines, without provisions, will be able to withstand experienced armies, and soldiers grown old in the habits of victory? The Junta still flatters itself that you will reflect on the fatal consequences which your first steps must infallibly produce, if unfortunately a foolish obstinacy prevent you from quickly returning to the path of submission and patriotism, which a moment of error has permitted you to desert. And to convince you, that this only object is the better to instruct you, that the prince who adores them, that the emperor of the French, who holds our destinies in his hand, has no other view than to promote your prosperity, the Junta will make known to you the intentions of the new sovereign who comes to rule you. Hear and judge:—The Cortes, those ancient sureties of your freedom, will be re-established, more powerful and better constituted than they had ever been; they shall be assembled at least every three years, and as often as the wants of the nation shall make their assembling necessary. The yearly expenditure of the royal establishment shall be limited; the sum taken out of the royal treasury for that purpose shall never be increased; it shall only be the half of what has hitherto been appropriated to the same purpose. The Roman catholic religion shall be exclusively that of Spain; no other worship shall be permitted. Finally, the Junta of government have strong reasons to hope that the personal contributions levied during the present war will be considerably diminished in consequence of the improvements which the new government intends to make in the mode of its collection; and while the warlike and political situation of Europe will require the greatest exertions for increasing our marine, the diminution of our land forces may be hoped for. Add to this, that useful reforms will be gradually made in all the departments, public credit shall be restored, the debt shall be fixed and paid off in a few years.—The administration of justice shall be made certain by invariable rules. The sovereign authority shall not be permitted to influence its course. Agriculture will be encouraged, commerce animated, and population increased. The army and navy will resume their ancient lustre; all the means calculated to secure general prosperity will be put in motion. Judge then, whether it is your interest to draw your swords, in order that your own happiness and that of your posterity may be prevented, and whether those who light up the fire of discord among you are true Spaniards, and friends of their country. You now know,

Spaniards, the destiny which awaits you if you preserve among yourselves tranquillity and order—if you heartily unite with your government. Every thing tends to your benefit, and approximates the moment when your happiness shall commence. But if you forget this wholesome advice of the Junta, you may dread the just wrath of a monarch who will punish a blind and obstinate criminality with as much severity as he would nobly forgive the error of a moment. Are you ignorant that numerous French armies are already in Spain? Do you not know that still more numerous armies are now crossing the frontiers? The provinces which do not immediately return to their duty, will be occupied by the French troops, and treated with all the severity of martial law. The lieutenant-general has already given orders for several divisions to advance and punish the rebellious, but the Junta of the government wishing to save several provinces, in which disturbances have commenced, from the danger which threatens them, have, on the application and in name of these provinces, acknowledged their error, and promised to return to order, his imperial highness has graciously accepted their request. He has suspended the punishment of the guilty, but that punishment will be terrible if the traitorous suggestions of the evil disposed should have more power over the minds of the Spaniards, than the paternal voice of their magistrates, their clergy and all their authorities, civil, and military.

Address of the Leaders of the Patriots, in several of the Provinces and Principalities of Spain. Dated in the Month of May, 1808.

ARRAGON.

Providence has preserved in Arragon an immense quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, which have not treacherously been sold, or delivered to the enemies of our repose. Your patriotism, your loyalty, and your attachment to the good customs which you have inherited from our ancestors, induced you to shake off the disgraceful yoke, which was prepared for us by sedition, and by the false promises of the French government, which regulating F——'s conduct by the most abominable Machiavelism, merely endeavoured to deceive us and all Spain in order to cover with shame and disgrace the most generous nation upon earth. You have placed implicit confidence in me, and this honour which you have bestowed on me undeservedly, obliges me to tear the veil of the most detestable iniquity and injustice. My life, which can only be of any value to me as far as it can promote your happiness and the prosperity of my beloved country, is the smallest sacrifice I can make in return for the many proofs of confidence and love with which you have honoured me. Do not doubt it, Arragonians; my mind is not able to harbour crimes, nor to associate with those who cherish and protect them. Some of the depositaries of the confidence of the Spanish nation, they who hold the supreme power in their hands, are the first to work your ruin by every means which malice can suggest, and to form traitorous connections with the enemies of our country. Thirst of gold, and the mistaken idea which they have perhaps conceived, to defile our destinies by their iniquitous proceedings, make them view with indifference the destruction of their country. Although I have strong grounds to believe it, yet I shall forbear to mention names, lest I should render grief still more poignant. At this time, being acquainted with your determination, that of your neighbours, the inhabitants of Valentia, and all the provinces of Spain, where the same sentiments are entertained, some of their leaders have perhaps changed their determination, embraced the cause of justice, and endeavoured to shake off the yoke, which they tried to impose on us, by means the most iniquitous and base. Should I be mistaken in this opinion, time will discover the truth. Fear not, Arragonians; let us defend the most just of causes, and we shall be invincible. The enemy's troops now in Spain are not able to withstand our efforts. Woe betide them, should they ever dare to repeat in any other Spanish town, what they did in Madrid on the 2d May, sacrificing without pity, and calling those seditious and assassins, of whom they had but very lately received honours and favours, which they did not deserve. Bayonne has witnessed and will remember the acts of violence, which after a long series of treacheries and frauds, have been committed; acts of violence, which clearly appear by the striking contradictions found in the papers published, where Charles IV. is charged with having conspired with a minister, who is afterwards appointed a member of the council of government; where the king, his son, who was never married but once, is questioned about his first wife. In consequence thereof, it is my duty to declare, and I accordingly do hereby declare what follows:—1. That the French Emperor, all the individuals of his family, and every French general and officer, shall be personally responsible for the safety of the king, and of his brother and uncle. 2. That, in case any violence should be attempted against

lives so valuable, in order that Spain may not be without a king, the nation will make use of their elective right in favour of the Archduke Charles, as nephew of Charles III. in case that the Prince of Sicily, or the Infant Don Pedro, and the other heirs should not be able to concur. 3. That should the French army commit any robberies, devastation, and murders, either in Madrid or any other town, invaded by the French troops, they shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and no quarter shall be given to any of them. 4. That all the transactions which have hitherto taken place, shall be considered as illegal, void, and extorted by violence, which is known to be practised in both places. 5. That what may hereafter be done in Bayonne, shall also be considered as null and void; and all who shall take an active part in the like transactions, shall be deemed traitors to their country. 6. That all deserters of the French army who shall present themselves, shall be admitted in Arragon, and treated with that generosity which forms a prominent feature of the Spanish national character; they shall be disarmed and conducted to this capital, where they may enlist in our troops. 7. All other provinces and kingdoms of Spain, not yet invaded by the enemy, are invited to meet by deputies at Termal, or any other suitable place, to nominate a lieutenant-general, whose orders shall be obeyed by the particular chiefs of the different kingdoms. 8. The foregoing manifesto shall be printed and published in the whole kingdom of Arragon; and it shall also be circulated in the capitals and principal places of all the provinces and kingdoms of Spain. Given in the head-quarters at Saragossa, the 31st May, 1808.—PALAFOX, *Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Arragon.*

ASTURIA.

Loyal Asturians! beloved countrymen! your first wishes are already fulfilled. The principality, discharging those duties which are most sacred to men, has already formally declared war against France. You may perhaps dread this vigorous resolution. But what other measure could or ought we to adopt? Shall there be found one single man among us, who prefers the vile and ignominious death of slaves to the glory of dying on the field of honour, with arms in his hand, defending our unfortunate monarch, our homes, our children, and our wives? If the very moment, when those hands of banditti were receiving the kindest offices and favours from the inhabitants of our capital, they murdered in cold blood upwards of two thousand people, for no other reason, than their having defended their insulted brethren, what could we expect from them, had we submitted to their dominion? Their perfidious conduct towards our king and his whole family, whom they deceived and decoyed into France under the promise of an eternal armistice, in order to chain them all, has no precedent in history. Their conduct towards the whole nation, is more iniquitous than we had the right to expect from a horde of Hottentots. —They have profaned our temples; they have insulted our religion; they have assailed our wives; in fine, they have broken all their promises, and there exists no right which they have not violated. To arms, Asturians, to arms! let us not forget, that Asturias at the time of another invasion, which undoubtedly was less unjust, restored the monarchy. Let us aspire to the same glory on the present occasion. Let us recollect that no foreign nation could ever lord it over us, whatever exertion it may have made for that purpose. Let us offer up our prayers to the God of Hosts. Let us implore the intercession of our Lady of Battles, whose image is worshipped in the most antient temple of Covadonga; and perfectly sure that she cannot forsake us in so just a cause, let us rush upon our detestable enemy, and annihilate and drive out of our peninsula, a people so base and treacherous. This demand is addressed to you in the name of your representatives, by the procurator general of the principality.—ALVARO FLOREZ ESTAUDA.

OVIEDO.

The council general of the principality must not lose a moment to publish the following letter which has just been received from their king, Ferdinand the VII. and the authenticity of which is ascertained by one of the members of the council, who possesses the most unquestionable knowledge thereof. On the first cover is the superscription—"To the royal assemblage of Oviedo." The second is superscribed—"To the chief "of arms of Asturias."—"Noble Asturians.—I am surrounded on all sides, and a victim of perfidy. You saved Spain under worse circumstances than the present. Being now prisoner, I demand not from you the crown, but I require, that, concerting a well digested plan with the neighbouring provinces, you do assert your liberty, and not submit to a foreign yoke, nor subject yourselves to the treacherous enemy, who despoils of his rights your unfortunate— PRINCE FERDINAND.—Bayonnne, May 8th, 1808."—To expressions so energetic and impressive the council ought not to add any observation; but with the most poig-

nant grief they mingle their tears with those of all their beloved and faithful countrymen, to whom the letter is communicated.—JUAN DE ARGUEKER TORAL, Act. Secretary.

GALICIA.

Brave Spaniards,—The abdication of his kingdom by our Sovereign Ferdinand VII. officially communicated to us, is the most striking proof of the violence he suffers. He thereby manifests to us his want of liberty and power, and the grief he feels on being compelled, by despotism and tyranny, to separate himself from his subjects; he implicitly demands our assistance. It is intended to substitute in his place a haughty and perfidious conqueror, who meditates the effusion of your blood, to satiate his sanguinary appetite and his boundless ambition, as he has hitherto profusely shed the blood of the noble, brave and loyal French nation. He means to drag, by main force, the most illustrious Spanish youths, whither the good faith of our monarch has already sent a great part of them, without any other object than to aggrandize a man, for whom the world does not appear to be sufficiently extensive, and who gluts on human blood. The reward of that generous act, has been a perfidious conduct, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations. The stratagems, the frauds, the treacheries, are notorious, which Napoleon has employed to introduce, in the quality of an intimate ally and a faithful friend, his troops to our very capital, and makes himself master of the fortresses on our frontiers; to harass the feelings of our monarch; to cause disturbances among the people; to rob us of our king, princes, and infanto, and to controul with an iron hand the deliberation of our government, which, without liberty, gives orders which it abhors, ruled as they are by a foreign regent and intruder. This scandalous conduct, and that which he has committed with regard to Etruria, and our neighbours the Portuguese, point out to us the degree of fidelity and faith which we may expect from the high sounding promises with which he means to cloak his malignant designs, treating us as a people at once insensible and dastardly!—Shall a cultivated, brave, and generous nation, bend its neck under the yoke of perfidy? Shall it allow itself to be insulted by injuries—the most perfidious, immoral, and disgraceful, committed in the face of the whole world; and submit to the most humiliating slavery prepared for it? No, noble Galicians, such are not the dictates of your noble minds. Glowing with the most virtuous ardour and noblest enthusiasm, you have already expressed your sentiments, worthy of the praise and imitation of all Spaniards. You rather wish to die, than to see your independence trampled under foot, your religion destroyed, your king in captivity, and your country threatened with a yoke equally burthensome and unjust. Quicken the generous sentiments of your noble minds. Fly to arms, not like that monster, to indulge an inordinate ambition; not like him, to violate the rights of humanity and the law of nations; not to render us odious to mankind; not to offend a generous and friendly nation, ruled by a monster already become insufferable upon earth.—Fly to arms, to assist your countrymen; to rescue your king from captivity; to restore to our government liberty, energy, and vigour; to preserve your lives and those of your children; to maintain the uncontrouled right of enjoying and disposing of your property; to assert the independence of your native soil; and, above all, to defend your sacred religion. Employ the arms which she tenders; arm your minds with the fear of God; implore the aid of the immaculate conception, and of the glorious Apostle St. Jacob, our patron; and confident of success in so glorious a cause, rush forth to grasp the victory which is prepared for you by their intercession, and the justice of your cause.—And ye, corporations and private individuals, who, from your situation and circumstances, cannot take up arms, assist your brethren with your property and fortunes. You are concerned more than any other subject in this demand; sacrifice spontaneously part of your property, that you may not be deprived of the whole by violence. Do not delay that sacrifice a moment, if you wish that by the prompt execution of a well combined plan, the fury of an enemy be checked, who is accustomed at all times to act with the rapidity of lightning. Divest yourselves of all private views, and hesitate not; for otherwise you yourselves, your wives, children, and families, will become the victims of the most inveterate revenge.—DON MANUAL ACHA, &c.

PRECAUTIONS,

Which it will be proper to observe throughout the different Provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, of resisting the unjust and violent possession which their Armies are endeavouring to take of the Kingdom.

We cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and

that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important, and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself, and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery:—1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of this resolution are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.—2. A war of partisans is the system which suits us; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.—3. *It is indispensible that each province should have its general, of known talents, and of such experience as our situation permits, that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence*, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.—4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promise and facilitate a successful issue, it appears indispensible that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other—one who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Murcia, and Lower Estramadura—another in Galicia, Upper Estramadura, Old and New Castile, and Leon—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan Provinces, Montanus, Asturias, Rinja, and the North of Old Castile, for the purposes which will be mentioned hereafter.—5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprises, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.—6. Madrid and La Mancha require an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular local situation demands—his only object must be to embarrass the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The courage of these inhabitants, is well known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprizes if they are led as they should be. In the succession war the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.—7. The generalissimos of the North and East will block up the entrances to the provinces under their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from the desolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.—8. The destination of the general of Navarre, Biscay and the rest of this department is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the North and East: with the troops and other succours which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops; and to harrass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprises, if well concerted and carried into execution, will no doubt be successful: and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rolissillon into Catalana, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And, even from Portugal, it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred which they before bore to the French being encreased without measure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.—9. At the same time it would be very proper that the generalissimo should publish and circulate frequent proclamations amongst the people, and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with all Spain, and even with their king Ferdinand VII. and that if they rule over us all is lost, kings, monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that therefore it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the king, and of the country, and though our lot (which we

hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving up ourselves basely to the yoke like sheep, *as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her slavery eternal ignominy and disgrace.* France has never domineered over us, nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the same Spaniards; and France, and Europe, and the world shall see, that we are not less gallant, nor less brave than the most glorious of our ancestors. —10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which *the baseness of the late government* has permitted, and still permits to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradictions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of these diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those Charlatans, the French Gazeteers, and even to their *Moniteur:* and let them display and publish to Spain, to all Europe, their horrible falsehoods and venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.— 11. Care shall be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them, that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tranquillity, our lord and king Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him *the Cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed,* and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity that the vile French should come to instruct us, and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship, and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our king, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do so long as the spirit of perfidy and ambition which oppresses and tyrannises over them shall endure.—"JUAN BAUTISTA PARDO, Secretary." By Order of the Supreme Junta.

LEON.

When we behold the great and noble resistance which is at this moment opposed by the provinces of Galicia and Asturias, to the projects of the basest and most execrable of tyrants, it is impossible to believe but that they must be seconded by all, who, like themselves, have a sovereign to avenge, sacred rights, and a country to defend. Still, should any be restrained by fear; should any fail to concur in the sentiment which calls them to arms against an unprincipled oppressor, it will sufficiently determine them if we recal to their memory what Spain owes to the virtues, to the courage, to the heroism of Pelage, to the valour and to the patriotism of Rodrigue Diare de Bivar.— These two great men, one from the province of Asturias, the other from that of Castile, were called forth at different epochas, but both equally difficult, each to preserve our country from a foreign yoke. To their characters, and to the sentiments of enthusiasm which they excited in every breast, does Spain owe the glory and the happiness which she has so long enjoyed.— Should the government of Asturias discover that any part of the inhabitants take up arms coldly or indifferently in the defence of the country, let it address to them those sentiments which the immortal Pelage addressed to the citizens, to his brave companions in arms, when a formidable and cruel enemy wished to subjugate them to his power:— "It is no longer time to deliberate," said this virtuous and courageous Spaniard, under circumstances nearly resembling the present; "the nature of our cause, the situation of our affairs, and those of the enemy, require promptitude and activity, and that we should not waste our time in useless deliberation. We arm to re-establish our altars, our religion, our glories, the liberty of our children, of our friends, of our country! to place in safety the honour and chastity of our wives; to rid ourselves of the yoke of a conqueror base as he is cruel, who has covered himself with our spoils, and under whose dread dominion our lives could not boast the security of a moment.—If ever opportunity occurred to tempt a most glorious enterprise, this is the moment—this moment in which we are assembled, united, bound together by a chain of interest, which equally concerns all! Inhabitants of the mountains, and ye of the vallies! Hear our determination

to arm, and join yourselves to us. Those even, whom the love of tranquillity hath hitherto deceived, and still retained among the Moors, I now behold ready to break their fetters, and join those who hasten to accomplish the great purpose of their struggle. The Moors in short are occupied with great projects; but for us, necessity should put an end to indecision, we have taken the first step, there is no longer time to retract; already they march against us; while we hesitate to place ourselves in a disposition to drive the enemy from our mountains, we shall be surrounded, we shall have no escape, and we are too great in number to subsist upon the stinted produce of bare and sterile rocks.—Come on then!—God, whose cause we support against the enemies of his name, will fight for us while we fight for him, and the hand which has punished us because we have forgotten him, will fortify our arms in a war undertaken for the honour of his glory! Let us put our confidence in the invincible strength of the Almighty! I will lead you to battle; I will ever be the first, and will require of you nothing but that of which I will set you an example."—This harangue, so suitable to the occasion, produced then the same effect as it will produce to-day. At the voice of Pelage, all the Asturians took up arms, each of them performed prodigies of valour; Cantabria and Galicia severally sent deputies, praying to be admitted into the confederation of Asturias; they were received, their means united, and the Moors were conquered.—Three hundred and thirty-nine years afterwards, Spain had another defender; this was Rodrigue Diare de Bivar, a fierce and noble Castilian of the city of Burgos. This virtuous citizen and gallant warrior, burning with desire to secure the liberty of his country, did not hesitate to remonstrate with animation, in a council where the king of Castile himself presided. He said he was ashamed to deliberate upon the pretensions of the emperor Henry II.; that the independence of Spain was established above all titles! that base Spaniards alone could admit of its being compromised! that it should be upheld even at the expence of life, and that he would declare himself the enemy of that man who should advise the king to tarnish its lustre!—If the Prince of Peace, instead of betraying his sovereign and his country, had had the foresight, the loyalty, or the energy of the two great men we have just cited, the pretensions of Buonaparte, like those of Henry, would have been received with indignation. As the Moors were, under Philip, so the French would have been expelled, and Spain would have been saved. What has not hitherto been done, may yet be achieved; but for that purpose there must be unanimity among principals, and a reunion, wisely combined, of all our forces and of all our means—Without this concurrence to retain our country's welfare, without the most resolute courage to drive from her bosom a cruel and perfidious enemy, like an enslaved people, we shall lose our fleet, our arsenals; our army will be disbanded or sent into Germany, our militia disarmed, our clergy despoiled and destroyed, our churches pillaged, our altars profaned, the lands of our grandees confiscated, our commerce ruined, our possessions beyond sea no longer belonging to our capital; the kingdom drained by enormous contributions; Spain, in short, happy and free under her kings, will be reduced to the most frightful slavery.—To avoid calamities so dreadful, one only resource remains to us. It is to rally round the standard which the provinces of Galicia and of Asturias have raised, in defence of religion, of justice and of honour. Children of our country! we will be worthy of ourselves; let us perpetuate the glory with which our ancestors are covered: great, like them, let us think no sacrifices too much, when we have our liberties to preserve, the massacre of our parents, or our friends, to revenge, our wives and children to defend. If, to the shame of the Spanish nation, there have been found men, such enemies to themselves and to their country, as to hasten to the feet of the tyrant, and prostitute before him their existence and their rights, let us nevertheless hope, that the chiefs of the Spanish league will not like Pelage, have to guard against designs such as those of the archbishop of Seville, who was base enough to betray his faith, his God, his king, and his country. Let us endeavour to believe, that the great and laudable example which the bishop of Oviedo and of Compostella have afforded, shall be followed, not only by all those in the kingdom, but likewise by every member of our respectable clergy, secular and regular, who, alike interested as the ministers of religion, and as good citizens, to punish crime, to accelerate the triumph of virtue, and to preserve Spain from the disgrace and oppression of a foreign yoke!—Signed by the members of the council at Leon, May 17th, 1808.

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH.

FRENCHMEN.—You possess no longer either laws or liberty, nor any good whatever; with streams of blood shed by yourselves and your children, you have been compelled to enslave Europe. A family, not French, reigns over you and several European na-

tions, without the least benefit to France, or any other people. Spain, your constant ally has contributed you know, by a variety of means, to your triumphs; and yet she has been despoiled of her laws, her monarch, and her greatness, her very religion is threatened; and all this has hitherto been achieved, not by gallantry and valour, but by treachery and fraud, in which you are forced to co-operate; your valiant arms are defiled; you are made to assist in deeds of infamy, inconsistent with your generous character and with the name of the great nation, which you have acquired.—Frenchmen, the Spanish nation, your ally and generous friend, invites you to withdraw from banners, which are destined to enslave all nations, and to enlist under our's, which are raised for the best of causes, to defend our laws and our king, whereof we have been robbed, not by force of arms, but by fraud, treachery, and ingratitude of the deepest dye. We all will die, and you should die with us to wipe off the stain which will otherwise indelibly disgrace your nation. The Spaniards tender you the just reward for such an action; with open arms will they receive you, and fight by your side; and when the war shall be terminated with that success, which they have every reason to expect, land shall be given you, which you may cultivate unmolested, and pass your remaining days amidst a nation, which loves and respects you, and where impartial justice shall incorruptibly protect all your fair enjoyments.—Italians, Germans, of all the provinces of that great nation, Polanders, Swiss, and ye all who compose the armies called French, will you fight for him, who oppressed and despoiled you of what you held most sacred? For him who has dragged you from your families and homes, robbed you of your property, your wives, your children, your native country, which he has enslaved? and will you fight against a nation, generous like the Spanish, from whom you experienced the kindest reception, which loves you with the tenderest attachment, and which at the zenith of its glory and dominion respected your rights, because it looks upon all as brethren. Will you fight against a nation, which it is intended to subdue and enslave, not by dint of arms, as brave men would do, but under the cloak of alliance and friendship, by fraudulent treachery, detestable and horrid beyond any precedent in history, even among barbarous nations. We hope you will not. Come to us, and you shall meet with valour, generosity, and true honour. We tender the same rewards to you as to the French; and we trust, you and your posterity will enjoy them in happiness and peace.—Don Juan Bautista Esteller, First Secretary.—Don Juan Bautista de Pedro, Second Secretary.—*Seville, May* 29, 1808.

Valladolid.

Noble Castilians!—The common foe of mankind was the traitor who tore from our bosom our amiable Ferdinand VII. and the whole of the royal family. He carries his audacity the length of holding out to us offers of happiness and peace, while he is laying waste our country, pulling down our churches, and slaughtering our brethren. His pride, cherished by a set of villains who are constantly anxious to offer incense on his shrine, and tolerated by numberless victims, who pine in his chains, have caused him to conceive the fantastical idea of proclaiming himself lord and ruler of the whole world. There is no atrocity which he does not commit to attain that end. The respectable name of the great emperor of Russia; the political dissimulation of the German emperor; the timorous condescension of the holy father of the church; the opinion of true Frenchmen, exposed more than others to the severity of their iron sceptre; in short, the most sacred laws of humanity have been trampled under foot with the utmost contempt, to pronounce the detestable sentence of the extirpation of the house of Bourbon. Shall all these outrages, all these iniquities, remain unpunished, while Spaniards, and Castilian Spaniards, yet exist? No, it cannot be. Your minds glowing with generous ardour for your religion and your country, have resolved to renew the heroic scenes, in which Castilian valour shone with immortal lustre, saved the country, and consolidated our religion. The stratagems which hitherto secured victories to the tyrant, vanished the moment when Europe saw with her own eyes the artful snares and devices by which he seduced the unwary, until he had bent their neck under his yoke. Let us shed the last drop to resist that dominion. Let us all become gallant soldiers, full of discipline and subordination. Let us breathe but obedience and respect for the great man by whom we are governed, one of the best generals of Spain, his excellency Don Gregorio de le Cuerta. To arms, Castilians, to arms; let us die for our country, our religion, and our king.

(To be continued)

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